

Exploring the Cultural History of Continental European Freak Shows and ‘Enfreakment’

Edited by

Anna Kérchy and Andrea Zittlau

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MISSIONARIES, MONSTERS,
AND THE DEMON SHOW:
DIABOLIZED REPRESENTATIONS
OF AMERICAN INDIANS IN JESUIT LIBRARIES
OF SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
UPPER HUNGARY
ILDIKÓ SZ. KRISTÓF

“These hostile Indians...look more like the Devil than a man; since they cut their beard and paint their faces in such a repugnant manner as they can.” This is how Father Joannes Ratkay, a Croatian-Hungarian missionary of the Jesuit order describes the native inhabitants of New Mexico in his letter sent from Mexico City to the head of the Austrian Province of the Jesuits in 1681.¹ His reference to the devil becomes more than just a solitary metaphor, especially if we compare it to the description of American Indians to be found in other early modern Hungarian sources. The world geography written by another Hungarian Jesuit, Pál Bertalanffi, published in Nagyszombat (Trnava, today’s Slovakia) in 1757, gives account of native “idols” like the Sun and the Moon in Mexico and

¹ “Diese feindselige Indianer...sehen vielmehr dem Teuffel als einem Menschen gleich; denn sie scheeren ihre Bärte und färben ihre Angesichter so abscheulich als sie immer können.” Joseph Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott, mit aller hand nachrichten deren Missionarien Societatis Iesu, Erster Theil, Von Anno 1642 bis 1687*, (Augsburg und Graz: Philippe Martin und Johann Weith seel. Erben, 1726), p. 84. A copy of this work was in the possession of the library of the Jesuit college in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, today’s Slovakia), see *Elenchus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Neozoliensis*, [1778], 1781, p. 127 and a later edition (Augustae, 1727) of it was owned by the Jesuit library of the college in Nagyszombat (Trnava, today’s Slovakia), see *Catalogus novus Librorum Collegii Tirnaviensis, 1690-*, Vol. II, p. 440. (Handwritten catalogues of books, manuscript-collection, University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.) Ratkay was born in Ptuj (today’s Slovenia), came from a Croatian noble family and was educated in Buda and the Jesuit colleges in Upper Hungary. Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, p. 81.

Florida, the sky in Chile, and others again in California and Paraguay. Moreover, as Father Bertalanffi claims, the Natives of the land called *Magellanica* in the southern end of South America (i.e. Tierra del Fuego) “live in caves instead of houses, and, adoring idols, they also honour the devil.”²

These passages refer to a peculiar form of representation relating to American Indians and other non-European indigenous peoples, namely, *diabolization*. This kind of stereotypical representation had a long history and a wide distribution in early modern Europe. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century it is to be found in the textual and visual/figural register of Western European culture, as well as the ordinary practice of criminal courts dealing with religious “crimes” such as idolatry, witchcraft and demonic possession identified among non-European people “discovered” and colonized by the Europeans.³ According to the testimony of Father

² Pál Bertalanffi, *Világnak Két rend-béli Rövid Isméréte* (*Brief description of the world divided in two parts*), (Nagyszombat: Academia, 1757), p. 981, p. 985, p. 1015, p. 1026, p. 1011 and p. 1017 (My translation from Hungarian). Copies of this work were in the possession of the library of the Jesuit college of Komárom among others and ended up the collection of the Royal University in Buda, see *Catalogus Librorum abolitae Societatis Jesu Residentiae Comaromiensis*, 1781, p. 61, and *Elenchus Generalis Librorum...Pro Bibliotheca Regiae Universitatis Budensis...selecti*, 1782, p. 40.

³ The exploration of such a complex process of diabolization has started relatively recently, see for example Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, *De l'idolâtrie. Une archéologie des sciences religieuses* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1988); Solange Alberro, *Inquisition et société au Mexique 1571–1700* (México: Centre d'Études Méxicaines et Centraméricaines, 1988); Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico. The Incorporation of Indian Societies in the Western World* (Trans. Eileen Corrigan) (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993 [1988]); Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World. The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994); Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Irene M. Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions. Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Duke University Press, 2004); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors. Iberianizing the Atlantic 1550–1700* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006); Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, “A demonológia funkciói: misszionáriusok és indiánok az amerikai Délnyugaton (17.–18. század)” (The functions of demonology. Missionaries and Indians in the American Southwest (17th–18th centuries), in *Démonok, látók, szentek. Vallásetnológiai fogalmak tudományos megközelítésben*, Éva Pócs (ed.) (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008, pp. 115–34); Sz. Kristóf, “The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans in the American Southwest (17th–18th century)” in *Centres and Peripheries in European Renaissance Culture. Essays by East-Central*

Ratkay, Father Bertalanffi and other authors, diabolization has found its way to Central/East-Central Europe, especially to the Austrian Province of the Jesuit order and through it, the Kingdom of Hungary as a whole.

"They know lots of names of demons," writes Father Ferenc Szuhányi, another Hungarian Jesuit author, about the native inhabitants of Guyana, South America in his book entitled *Notitia Orbis*, published in Kassa (today's Košice, Slovakia) in 1788.⁴ Surveying the known regions of the American continent and their native religion, Father Szuhányi mentions "idols" from Florida (the Sun and the Moon), Mexico ("Fitzliputzli," i.e. Huitzilopochtli, the war deity of the Nahuatl), Peru (Pachacamac, the creator and keeper of the Inca/Quechua), Chile, Brasilia, and some of the Caribbean islands (the Sun, the Moon, and the stars).⁵ His work, among many others, testifies that some of the diabolical ideas and traces of the corresponding representation survived in the Central European region, just like in Western Europe, right until the end of the eighteenth century.

This story deserves a closer investigation that should start with the following questions. What image could a late seventeenth- early eighteenth century East-Central European Catholic missionary have of America and its indigenous inhabitants?⁶ How did he acquire it? And what are the sources for a cultural historian to study it? The present essay is an attempt to answer these questions and elaborate on some of their interpretive—iconographical, religious, and also ethical—aspects.

Before a would-be missionary of the Jesuit order was sent to Seville, Spain—as it was customary at that time to complete one's knowledge on America and the mission work—he pursued studies in one (or more) of the colleges of Upper Hungary, belonging to the Austrian Province of the order. So, the precious corpus of the handwritten catalogues (*catalogus librorum*) of those libraries constitutes an excellent source to identify the texts he might have consulted.⁷ The catalogues today are preserved in the

European Mellon Fellows, György E. Szőnyi and Csaba Maczelka (eds.) (Szeged: JatePress, 2012), pp. 161–82.

⁴ "Daemonis multa apud eos nomina," Ferenc Xavér, Szuhányi, *Notitia Orbis e variis peregrinationibus ab illustris viris susceptis deprompta*, (Cassovia: Johannes M. Landerer, 1788), p. 164.

⁵ Ibid. p. 135, pp. 143–4, p. 146, pp. 148–9, p. 154, pp. 157–8, p. 173, p. 181.

⁶ I have chosen this particular period to investigate since most of the missionaries who ended up later in various parts of America had pursued their studies in the local colleges and academies at that time, frequently travelling around from library to library.

⁷ With the exception of the early catalogues of 1635 and 1690, the majority of them came into being after the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, when the university and its library were declared secular state institutions. Afterwards, the

University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest; a great majority of the books that I am going to discuss in the following comes from that source. I cannot evidently claim that each of them has been seen, read and accepted by the would-be missionaries of the Society of Jesus studying there around the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is just a probability. Nevertheless, nearly all of these works were inscribed in the catalogue of one or another college library of the order (many of them bear the library's marks of ownership and other inscriptions). The impact of the demonic representation of indigenous peoples that they convey is also identifiable elsewhere in the literature of *relationes* and *geographia mundi* produced by Jesuit and other authors in the Kingdom of Hungary. Thus, it is perhaps legitimate to suppose that a certain correlation existed between the corpus of these catalogued books and the image that Hungarian missionaries formed of America and its indigenous peoples before going there, and that these works provided at least some of the existing influential representations to which the missionaries related their experiences gained later in the field. As they completed their service and wrote their own accounts, they either confirmed these representations, or refuted them, sometimes even without referring concretely to the works in which they have encountered them.

What could their image of America be like? Firstly, there was a good number of images available for them, not just a single one. A diabolized way of depicting indigenous peoples was only one among the several possibilities of interpreting otherness at the end of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, and, even a diabolized representation could include other, non-diabolical aspects and details.

contents of the college libraries of the Austrian Province of the order were inventoried and merged into the collection of the Academy of Nagyszombat, predecessor of today's Eötvös Loránd University, and transferred to Buda in 1777. Gábor Farkas Farkas, "Az Egyetemi Könyvtár a jezsuita rend kezelésében (1561–1773)" (The University Library owned by the Jesuit order 1561–1773) in *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár története és gyűjteményei* (The history and the collections of the University Library), László Szögi (ed.) (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2008, pp. 7–32); Máté János Bibor, "A királyi Tudományegyetem könyvtára a felvilágosult abszolutizmus és a reformkor időszakában (1773–1843)" (The library of the royal University in the age of Enlightened Absolutism and Reform 1773–1843) in *Ibid.*, pp. 33–56; Éva Knapp and László Szögi, *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtára* (University Library of Eötvös Loránd University) (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtára, 2012), pp. 8–17.

Visual and textual strategies of diabolization seem to have been well present in the early modern Kingdom of Hungary due to Jesuit authors like Father Ratkay, among others, who worked among various groups of Indians (e.g. the Tarahumara) in New Mexico in the early 1680s. However, so far, they have not received the critical attention they deserve. I have visited the Hopi, Navaho and Zuni Indian reservations in Arizona, Taos and Acoma Pueblo in New Mexico in 2001, and experienced the gloomy but very lively memory that the Native Americans there had of the idolatry and witchcraft trials that the Spanish conquerors and missionaries had conducted against them at the end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. As a result, I have embarked on a research project focusing on the history of *othering* and its representation as a part of the emerging sciences of ethnography and anthropology in Central Europe/Hungary, where some of the Central- and South-American missionaries originally came from. This research concentrates primarily on Hungarian textual and visual-figural reception and appropriation of the indigenous peoples of the Western hemisphere, most of all, North American Indians between the sixteenth- and the nineteenth century.⁸

Such a topic places both the American Indian cultures and the region of Central Europe in a global perspective. The images and texts that I am going to discuss provide a dark, satanic interpretation of the religion(s) of the Native American people, and testify to a global, intercultural context of the *diabolic representation of the Other*. I would call it, in certain cases, a *demon show*, a peculiar parallel of early modern freak shows. In contrast to the latter, however, the *demon show* seems to have existed in pictures (mostly engravings) and texts only, it was distributed by the culture of the printing press, and it did not live as long as the freak show, i.e. into the nineteenth and also twentieth century. It had in its roots, however, in early modern European criminal practices—namely the idolatry and witchcraft-trials held conforming to the teachings of the Christian religion (primarily Catholicism). Thus it involved the social world of the colonial period in

⁸ My publications in this field include Sz. Kristóf, “A demonológia funkciói;” “Kulturális KRESZ az amerikai Délnyugaton, avagy hogyan legyünk ‘holisztikusak’ manapság?” (The rules of cultural encounter in the American Southwest, or how to be “holistic” these days?), in *Fehéren, feketén. Varsánytól Rititigi. Tanulmányok Sárkány Mihály tiszteletére I*, Balázs Borsos, Zsuzsa Szarvas and Gábor Vargyas (ed.) (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2004) pp. 97–118; “The Uses of Natural History. Georg C. Raff’s *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (1778) in its Multiple Translations and Receptions,” in *Le livre demeure. Studies in Book History in Honour of Alison Saunders*, Alison Adams and Philip Ford (ed.) (Genève: Droz, 2011) pp. 309–33; “The Uses of Demonology.”

America and other places alike. The *demon show* and the visual, textual and criminal strategy of diabolization in which it was embedded constituted a particular branch of the early modern European construction—classification and (many times also) annihilation—of the Other. The global and mostly colonial context in which such a strategy was inscribed is an unfortunate and shameful one, and not only from the point of view of the indigenous peoples themselves, but also that of any ethically-politically sensitive researcher. Facing this context the latter feels obliged to express her/his sadness and apology to those peoples whom such horrible representations—and the relating criminal practices—once concerned.

I do not intend to discuss each work on America that were at the disposal of our missionaries in the Jesuit libraries of Upper Hungary. I have made a selection according to the images and also the variation and the possible readings or uses of them. According to the teachings of the French *histoire de la lecture* as a research method, textual representations can tell a lot about the contemporary reading practices / interpretations / cultural messages implied in them,⁹ and this also applies to the visual-figural register.

Certain works published in Europe between the sixteenth and the late eighteenth centuries wanted indeed to make America seem dark and demonic. Their texts as well as images directly conveyed messages that we identify today as biased and oppressive, Eurocentric, and colonial.¹⁰ Concerning the culture of printing and the relating early modern practices of reading, however, some other cultural processes seem also to have been at work. In the mechanical process of the multiplication, re-edition, re-binding of the works, authors and producers have not found the way out of the already established strategies of representation—for example diabolization—not even when it became more and more obvious that America is far from being a land of demons.¹¹ In addition, despite the

⁹ Roger Chartier, “Le monde comme représentation,” in *Annales E.S.C.* 6 (1989): pp. 1505–20, and idem, “Laborers and voyagers: From the Text to the Reader,” in *Diacritics* 22: 2 (1992): pp. 49–61.

¹⁰ Diabolization appears as a European cultural process parallel to *orientalization*, though anterior in its origins and different in its completely negative aspects, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, Random House Inc, 1978).

¹¹ This is what Jack Goody or Elizabeth Eisenstein would have called the technical preservative implication i.e. *conservativism* of written/printed culture, see Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), idem, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Elizabeth L.

emerging need for more reliable scholarly works on the New World, many of the old demonizing works and images could likely still have been used and relied on in certain religious-scholarly circles, even when the heyday of the diabolization of non-European peoples had gradually passed away. This was true especially in East-Central Europe where the would-be missionaries were not as well-equipped in their formative years with relevant, recently published books as those living and being educated closer to the Atlantic world and its printing houses and publishers.

Let us see some examples from the possession of the Jesuits in Upper Hungary. In 1673 a collection of treatises was inscribed in the catalogue of books of the library of the Jesuit college of Trencsén (Trenčín, today's Slovakia) under the general title *Historia Americae ex Revelationibus diversorum*. Ten different works are bound together in it relating to the European discovery of America and certain events from its early history. All written in Latin, they date from 1590 to 1644, were published in Frankfurt am Main, edited by the famous Flemish-German publisher-artist, Theodor de Bry as well as his heirs, and illustrated mostly with the engravings of the former.¹² The treatises included an abundant collection of images of the native inhabitants of America from its Southern as well as Northern parts, depicted in the frontispiece engravings of almost all of the individual treatises, as well as on numerous pictures inserted in the text. De Bry's publications have exerted an enormous influence on the early modern Western European imagination of America.¹³ My emphasis here is on their presence in Central Europe/Hungary, as well as on their peculiar aspect of demonizing the Other. A considerable part of the scenes in which American Indians are represented and the particular ways of depicting them in the collection of treatises testifies to an identifiable purpose of *diabolization*, presenting the American natives either as idolatrists/demon-

Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as An Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe, I-II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

¹² *Novus Catalogus Bibliothecae Trenchiniensis, 1781*, pp. 205–6. The collection of treatises bears neither a common frontispiece, nor a common title. According to another handwritten mark on the frontispiece of the first treatise (see fig. 1), it was in the possession of the Jesuit order already in 1653, but was held at that time in the library of count György Illésházy (1625–1689), a converted Hungarian Catholic aristocrat, based in Trencsén.

¹³ Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008); Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, pp. 160–65.

adorers, or victims tormented by demons, or again, kind of demons/monsters themselves.

As for the frontispieces, de Bry's engravings draw generally on the Renaissance culture of spectacles¹⁴ and an iconography referring to its components. Richly ornamented buildings in Greco-Roman style, details of *tableaux vivants*, rituals and pageants, and possibly the cabinet of curiosities and/or the theatre could be identified. The figures of the American Indians are displayed in such representations playing on a double context of visibility. De Bry's images seem to show the reader not only the native inhabitants of the New World, but also the structures of the existing Western European *show* itself in which they were presented. The engravings opening the individual works most often depict a huge classical building with statues of various human figures to the right and the left side, as well as in the upper section. This structure could make the reader think of the front and entrance of a theatre, or a museum (a room or chest of curiosities). Some engravings even show an arch or open gate in the form of an archway in the lower section of the building through which the reader can have a look inside and see what is (going on) there.

In such frontispiece pictures the native inhabitants of America appear either as side statues, or figures to be found on top of the tympanon in the upper section of the building, organized into certain scenes. The side statues are like figures from *tableaux vivants* of ethnographical interest and purpose. They attempt to show the way of life of the inhabitants of the New World together with its many details (costumes, arms, tools, headdress, sometimes even food etc). In the upper section of the depicted building there are scenes that may be called *social* since they seem to represent the political power relations of the indigenous American societies. They show the Indians in the act of adoring their chief (see for example fig. 1). They are mostly kneeling and praying to him, clasping their hands, fan him from both sides, carry him in a litter etc.; i.e. they are represented in performing either the particular *European/Christian* gestures of adoration, or the ones—the latter two—by which the Europeans customarily visualized the *Asian/African* forms of veneration.

¹⁴ Various aspects of this emphasis on visibility and *show* have been studied in Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy. Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2003); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).



Fig. 1: Thomas Harriot, *Admiranda narratio fida tamen, de commodis et incolarum ritibus Virginiae* (Francoforti ad Moenum: Joannes Wechel, Theodor de Bry, 1590). (Frontispiece). ELTE EK KRNYO (Ant.7383/c1). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

In other scenes of the same section which depict the *religion* of the American natives, we find what I call a *demon show*. The religion of the American Indians is presented here as a duplicate of the scene of the secular-political adoration. The Indians are stretching their hands toward, carrying gifts to, and bowing and scraping in front of a demon that usually has a monster head on its shoulders and another one on its stomach, and is seated on a sort of throne (fig. 2). Indigenous religion is interpreted in such pictures as an explicit adoration of and communication with the devil, or a

devilish creature who presents itself to those ignorant pagans—as the Indians were regarded to be, according to the testimony of the texts—as a visible and recognizable supernatural being from the realm of Satan, a hellish double of a despotic ruler of this world. Such scenes draw, again, on either the Christian gestural-iconographical tradition—the figures of the demons and their adorers enact the European/Christian rituals of prayer and veneration—or allude to stereotyped Asian cultural forms, like the act of bringing presents (jewellery) to the enthroned demon.



Fig. 2: Hieronymus Benzoni, *Historiae Antipodum sive Novi Orbis, qui vulgo Americae et Indiae Occidentalis nomine usurpatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Mattheus Merian, 1644), p. 63. ELTE EK KRNYO (Ant.7383/c5). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

In sum, a demon show is a peculiar, stereotypical portrayal of the non-European/non-Christian religions from a Christian point of view, and by relying mostly on Christian means of representation; it constitutes a characteristic visual construction that identifies the pagan with the diabolical. This mode of portraying non-European religions tells, however, more about its own connection to an imaginary satanic-monstrous underworld of Christianity that is often carefully—visually as well as textually—depicted, explained and imposed upon the (presumably mostly Christian) reader. Thus, the demon show can be regarded as a kind of freak show. While presenting—and therefore constructing—cultural-religious “freaks” for a European audience, the demon show is inscribed, as I will discuss later on, in significant contexts of early modern (and also medieval) European Christian culture and imagination.

The diabolical representation of the American Indians also appears on the images inserted in the text of the collection of treatises. Throughout the texts from 1590 up until 1644, we can distinguish between its three forms:

Indians as idolatrists/demon-adorers, as victims tormented by demons, and as sort of demons/monsters themselves. Let me mention only three of the ten treatises.

The third part of de Bry's *America* contains the history of the province of Brasil written (and published first in Marburg in 1557) by Hans Staden, a German soldier from Hamburg, who once fell into the captivity of the Tupinambá Indians, during his travels to Brasil (1547–1555). His account associates the first form of diabolical representation with the Tupinambá people and the natives of Peru, claiming that—living in each other's proximity—they are both idolatrists, who adore the Sun and the Moon, and other false gods.¹⁵ Bounded right after Staden's text one finds another travelogue of Brasil that of the French Reformed Pastor, Jean de Léry, published first in 1578. Both texts depict the Tupinambá as frequently visited by demons, especially one called *Aygnan*, whom the texts coin a *cacodaemon*, and one of De Bry's engravings—drawing on the second form of diabolization—represents as a tormenting demon, capable to appear in many different, terrifying shapes (see fig. 3). In de Bry's pictures the *cacodaemon*'s embodiments mostly have a human form: they are naked and horned, have wings, claws, tails, and chicken/eagle feet. Some have a dog-like head, hairy body and heels, others have long female breasts, or serpentine tails, and, most peculiarly, one seems to be wearing another monster-head in its loin.¹⁶

The fourth book of de Bry's *America* contains the history of the New World (published first in Venice in 1565) of Girolamo Benzoni, an Italian historian and traveller from Milan who spent about fifteen years (1541–1556) in Central and South America.¹⁷ He visited places like the Caribbean Islands (including Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba), the region of Panama, as well as Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. The frontispiece picture and one of the engravings inserted in his text contain two horrifying manifestations of the first form of diabolization, i.e. Indians as idol/demon-adorers; while the texts belonging to these pictures discuss the indigenous religions of Haiti—but also Nicaragua, Mexico, Canada, Peru, Brasil, Patagonia etc.—

¹⁵ Hans Staden, *Americae tertia pars Memorabilem provinciae Brasiliae Historiam continens, germanico primum sermone scriptam. Addita est Narratio projectionis Ioannis Lerij in eandem Provinciam*, in [*Historia Americae*], Theodor de Bry (ed.) (Francoforti ad Moenum: Theodor de Bry, 1592), p. 221.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 223. Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, p. 127.

¹⁷ Hieronimus Benzoni, *Historiae Antipodum sive Novi Orbis, qui vulgo Americae et Indiae Occidentalis nomine usurpatur*, in [*Historia Americae*], Theodor de Bry's heirs (ed.) (Francoforti ad Moenum: Mattheus Merian, 1644).

interpreted as idolatry and a result of satanic seduction.¹⁸ The frontispiece picture (made originally by de Bry for an edition of 1594) includes a demon show in its upper section (see fig. 2).



Fig. 3: Hieronymus Benzoni, *Historiae Antipodum sive Novi Orbis, qui vulgo Americae et Indiae Occidentalis nomine usurpatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Mattheus Merian, 1644). (Frontispiece, detail) ELTE EK KRNYO (Ant.7383/c5). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

The demonic idol of the Indians is sitting on a throne in a cave-like hut in the forest, it has a human body with a horned monster-head on its shoulders, and another monster-face on its chest and stomach. It has got hairy and clawed chicken/eagle legs, and wings, and is holding a huge two-pronged fork in his left hand. The picture of an indigenous religious ceremony (in Haiti), inserted in the text, provides another, even more elaborate example of the demon show, featuring three diabolic creatures as idols of the Indians (see fig. 4). All three bear similar traits (horns, animal tails, long breasts, chicken/eagle legs with claws and heels), and are enthroned in a hut. The main idol is represented with five different animal heads, and a sixth face on its loin. The act of idolatrous adoration (gift-giving) is also carefully depicted in the picture.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 62–6.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 63. For an analysis of the frontispiece picture and its cultural-historical background see Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*, pp. 160–65.

Several works in the book-catalogues owned by a variety of different Jesuit libraries in Upper Hungary offer similar representations, containing the demon show itself, or some of its elements. However, an apparent inconsistency or heterogeneity is also identifiable in them. Certain native cultures are portrayed as demon-adoring. Sometimes depictions of cultures change from author to author and work to work, and occasionally the same author relies on demonizing representations in one of his works, but not in the other(s).



Fig. 4: Hans Staden, *Americae tertia pars Memorabilem provinciae Brasiliae Historiam continens, germanico primum sermone scriptam. Addita est Narratio projectionis Ioannis Lerij in eandem Provinciam* (Francoforti ad Moenum: Theodor de Bry, 1592), p. 223. ELTE EK KRNYO (Ant.7383/c3). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

Let us take the example of Mexico and Peru. The great indigenous empires, that of the Nahuatl and the Inca/Quechua, tend indeed to have been diabolized by plenty of authors in the period concerned, but at the same time some of the authors contributed to an apparent diversity in presenting and depicting those cultures. So did for example Eberhard Werner Happel whose late seventeenth- early eighteenth century cosmographical works were likely brought to the University Library from the Southern part (Croatia) of the old Kingdom of Hungary at an unknown date. In his *Thesaurus Exoticorum*, published in Hamburg in 1688, this Marburg Lutheran included and described a truly satanic representation of the Nahuatl god, Huitzilopochtli, that can be considered an explicit

manifestation of the demon show (see fig. 5).²⁰ However, his cosmographies entitled *Mundus mirabilis tripartitus*, published in Ulm, 1687 and 1708, owned by the University Library contained neither diabolical images nor any textual references to idols or demons in Mexico or, for that matter, Peru. In those works Happel devoted long passages to the description of the natural surroundings, minerals, streets, buildings, and products of “Temixtitan” (i.e. Tenochtitlan/Mexico), Tlascala as well as Quito, Lima, and Cuzco, but did not say a word about the (negative) characteristics of the indigenous religions there.²¹ Other similar examples could also be cited.

Another example for the era’s diverse and heterogeneous representations of the American indigenous cultures and populace is provided by two important works on the Nahuatl and the Inca/Quechua peoples, owned by Jesuits from Upper Hungary, which outlined completely different understandings of Native Americans. One was *Historia de la conquista de México* written by Don Antonio de Solís, published in Spanish in Brussels, 1704 (first published in 1684) with a series of engravings of native Mexicans. Several copies of various editions of this book reached the library of the university at dates unknown. This work adopted a rather diabolical discourse in describing the religion and the indigenous gods (in Spanish *idolos*) of the Nahuatl. It included elaborate engravings of Huitzilopochtli and the ritual of human sacrifice, which could remind readers of the demon show (see fig. 6).²² In contrast to this work, Garcilaso

²⁰ Eberhard Werner Happel, *Thesaurus Exoticorum. Oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten Wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1688), p. 103. So far I could not locate this work in the Upper Hungary Jesuit libraries. I used a copy owned by the Old and Rare Book Collection of the Somogyi Library of Szeged. The reproduction of the illustration was authorized by curator Erzsébet Szőkefalvi-Nagy.

²¹ Happel, *Mundus mirabilis tripartitus, Oder Wunderbare Welt in einer kurtzen Cosmographia fürgestellt* (Ulm: Matthaeus Wagner, 1687), pp. 771–78; idem, *Mundi mirabilis tripartiti, Oder der Wunderbaren Welt in einer kurtzen Cosmographia beschriebener Dritter und Letzter Theil* (Ulm: Daniel Bartholomaeus, 1708), pp. 316–21. According to the marks of ownership, they were, among different private libraries, in the possession of the college of the order of St. Paul the First Hermit in Lepoglava (today’s Croatia).

²² Don Antonio De Solís, *Historia de la conquista de Mexico, poblacion, y progressos de la America septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España*. (Brusselas: Francisco Foppens, 1704), the engravings entitled “El Grande Templo,” fol. 263 and “El Idolo Vitzzilipuztli,” fol. 266. A copy of a later edition in Spanish (Brussels 1741) is inscribed in the catalogue of the library of the Jesuit



Fig. 5: “Der Mexicanische Abgott” (The Mexican Idol), Eberhard Werner Happel, *Thesaurus Exoticorum. Oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten Wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1688), p. 103. Vizlipuzli. Somogyi City Library, Special coll. (G.c.131.) Courtesy of Somogyi City Library, Szeged. Reproduced by kind permission of the Old and Rare Book Collection, Somogyi Library, Szeged.

de la Vega, el Inca’s *Histoire des Yncas, rois du Perou* (published first in 1609)—the Amsterdam, 1704 edition of which is to be found in the catalogue of the library of the Jesuit college in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica, today’s Slovakia)—constituted a powerful defence of the native religion of Peru. Written by a half-Spanish, half-native author, it explicitly rejected the charge of both idolatry and the adoration of demons—certain early Spanish authors accused Indians of—and contained no diabolical images at all.²³

academy in Zagreb, (today’s Croatia), see *Catalogus Librorum Soc. Zagrabiensis*, 1782, p. 43.

²³ Garcilaso de la Vega (el Ynca), *Histoire des Yncas, rois du Perou. Traduite de l’Espagnol par J. Baudoin. I-II* (Amsterdam: Gerard Kuyper, 1704). The *ex libris* of this copy testifies that it was once in the possession of archduke and palatine Joseph of Hungary (1776–1847); see also *Elenchus Librorum Bibliothecae*



Fig. 6: “El Idolo Vitzzilipuztli,” Don Antonio De Solis, *Historia de la conquista de Mexico, poblacion, y progressos de la America septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España* (Brusselas: Francisco Foppens, 1704), p. 266, ELTE EK KRNYSO (902312). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

How can we interpret the early modern strategy of “othering” emerging in the demon show, and the simultaneous, apparently contradictory diversity characterizing the representation of Native American cultures? How were those images and texts used, received and appropriated by the early modern readership, especially the missionaries themselves? And how can we interpret all this from a specifically East-Central European perspective?

In an attempt to answer these questions let me briefly survey some of the contexts in which the diabolical representation of the American Indians could have been inscribed. Remarkably, the fact that these contexts can be studied through the catalogued works of the Jesuits from Upper Hungary, suggests conscious and intentional efforts on their part to collect as many

Collegii Neozoliensis, [1778], 1781, p. 138. Another edition of it (Amsterdam, 1715) was mentioned in *Elenchus Generalis Librorum...Pro Bibliotheca Regiae Universitatis Budensis...selecti*, 1782, p. 33 referring to a former copy in Besztercebánya.

relevant, useful works for the instruction of their would-be missionaries as they could. Of course, their own value-judgments and the particular historical circumstances shaped what was held “relevant” and “useful” at that time for learning about the American Indians. Let us see some of the contexts which affected the learned ecclesiastical-missionary readership as an interpretive community in the period.²⁴

The first of these contexts involved colonization and the related efforts to convert the newly encountered non-European peoples to Christianity. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the representational strategy of demonization was often conjoined with other means of paganization and/or barbarization, devaluing non-European peoples and religions through thoroughly Christian eyes and doctrines. These strategies implied the use of a specific Eurocentric perspective, mocking and condemning non-Christian social/religious behaviour by way of representing it in Christian terms, forms and motifs. It seems, however, that diabolization was not necessarily related to barbarization or paganization. As we have seen, the latter could appear without the demonic aspect as well. Scenes of idolatry did not always take the form of explicit devil/demon-adoring. This makes the diversity of the representation of non-European indigenous peoples even more conspicuous in Western Europe.²⁵ It seems that the relating knowledge pervading the Kingdom of Hungary was also quite heterogenous, although it is still not known to what extent.

Let us turn to the example of the oeuvre of Theodor de Bry and his heirs again. Their other great series of works relating to the journeys of various European travellers to the East Indies, published in Frankfurt am Main between 1597–1601, reached the library of the university at an unknown date, probably after 1690.²⁶ The pictures and texts of this work on the one hand taught readers that diabolism did neither limit itself to the indigenous peoples of the American continent, nor to any specific non-European people. The various manifestations of the demon show displayed the well-known multiple-headed and/or demon-headed idols with horns

²⁴ I am using the classical term forged by Stanley Fish in his *“Is There a Text in This Class?” The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 1–17, pp. 322–71.

²⁵ Excellent demonstrations of those diverging Western European (secular as well as religious) representations are to be found in Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Voyages and Visions. Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999) and Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers. Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2007).

²⁶ The copy of the series that I have consulted does not bear a common title and consists altogether of five different volumes.

and a monstrous body, but this time related to the indigenous cultures of Asia, India and China (see fig. 7) as well as Africa.²⁷



Fig. 7: “Wunderbarliche Ceremonien der Chiner für ihrem Abgott,” (Strange Chinese ceremonies for their idol), Joan Hugo von Lindschotten, *Ander Theil der Orientalischen Indien Von allen Völkern Insulen Meerporten fließenden Wassern und anderen Orten so von Portugal auß lengst dem Gestaden Aphrica biß in Ost Indien und zu dem Land China sampt andern Insulen zu sehen seind*, edited by Hans Dieterich and Hans Israel von Bry. (Franckfurt am Meyn: Johan Saur, 1598), XXVIII. ELTE EK KRNYO (Ant.3659). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

On the other hand, however, not every representation was diabolical in that series either. Just like in de Bry’s work on America, the reader could see the Sun and the Moon depicted as “simple” idols, objects of adoration related, for example to the native religion of Congo, Africa, without any diabolical aspect. Yet, the so-called “Teufelsbilder” (images of the devil) collected in the same country by the Portuguese in order to be burnt,

²⁷ Joan Hugo von Lindschotten, *Ander Theil der Orientalischen Indien Von allen Völkern Insulen Meerporten fließenden Wassern und anderen Orten so von Portugal auß lengst dem Gestaden Aphrica biß in Ost Indien und zu dem Land China sampt andern Insulen zu sehen seind*, Hans Dieterich und Hans Israel von Bry (ed.) (Franckfurt am Meyn: Johan Saur, 1598), Fig. XXI, “Indianischer Abgott Pagodes sampt der Mahometischen Tempel” and Fig. XXVIII, “Wunderbarliche Ceremonien der Chiner für ihrem Abgott.”

evoked again Christian Satanic realms.²⁸ De Bry's oeuvre, along with many others, suggest that from at least the sixteenth century on, diabolization functioned as an overall and rather didactic strategy of othering, that co-existed and worked in parallel with non-diabolical representations, and thus left the field of interpretation open for the readers themselves.

In an attempt to approach the missionaries' own readings, let us turn to the texts constitutive of the normative discourses, most of all, theological interpretation of such images. My research has revealed that the Jesuits of the Austrian province have possessed a considerable number of Western European treatises on idolatry and witchcraft as well as a specific lore relating to them, namely, demonology. Our missionaries seem to have consciously prepared for converting non-European, non-Christian peoples. Such scholarly literature offers insight into an important context of diabolized representations.

As for mission work, specifically among the American Indians, the East-Central European Jesuits owned the famous manual of evangelization of the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta, being once in the possession of the Jesuit college of Crumlau (Český Krumlov, today's Czech Republic) and ending up in the library of the university probably after 1690.²⁹ The work of Acosta, a learned theologian and provincial in Peru between 1576 and 1585, contained important chapters on idolatry (especially Caput IX, *De praecepto Decalogi et de idololatria barbarorum*), in which the author attempted to apply the ancient division of *idololatria* of John of Damascus to "nostri barbari," the Peruvian natives. According to John of Damascus, idolatry may take (as it was thought it did in the non-Christian past) three main forms. The first is when celestial bodies like the Sun, the Moon, the stars, and elements like fire, water, air, are regarded to be gods, and revered just as they were among the Chaldeans. The second is when dead human beings (heroes, kings) are revered as they were among the ancient Greeks. And the third is when animals as well as certain "objects" of

²⁸ Eduardo López, *Regnum Congo hoc est Warhaffte und Eigentliche Beschreibung deß Königreichs Congo in Africa und deren angrenzenden Länder*. Hans Dieterich und Hans Israel von Bry (ed.) (Franckfurt am Meyn: Johan Saur, 1597), frontispiece picture and p. 11 (Fig. XI. "Wie der König von Congo in seinem gantzen Land die Teufelsbilder zuverbrennen befihlet").

²⁹ José de Acosta, *De natura novi orbis libri duo. Et de promulgatione evangelii apud barbaros, sive, De procuranda indorum salute, libri sex* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Officina Birckmannica, Arnoldus Mylius, 1596). According to an undated handwritten mark on its frontispiece, the copy was once in the possession of the Czech aristocrat Peter Wok von Rosenberg (1539–1611).

nature (mounts, stones, trees) are adored as gods in the way of the ancient Egyptians. Still, Father Acosta admitted his inability to frame the forms of the religion he experienced among the “Peruvians” in any of these exclusive categories, and came to the conclusion that all three forms of idolatry were to be found among “nostri barbari.”³⁰ While his references to the devil were not excessive, he regretted that the *Diabolus* kept these idol-adoring people in his miserable servitude by oppressing their minds (*sensus*), and suggested that the Indians be taught about the *cacodaemon* in order to be able to get rid of him more easily with the assistance of the Jesuit fathers.³¹

The great late-16th century Catholic treatises on witchcraft and demonology, written by Jean Bodin and the Jesuit Martín Del Rio, possessed by Jesuits of Upper Hungary,³² conveyed similar arguments on the relation between the practice of idolatry and the art of the devil as the main trigger behind it. Bodin’s *De magorum daemonomania* even included a brief description of the practices of *Abgötterey* in the “newly found” islands of the Western Indies, meaning most probably the Caribbean Islands and Peru. The Natives honouring the Sun (*guaca*, *huaca*) and the Moon, adored, as Bodin claimed, the devil himself.³³ Del Rio’s *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* discussed various indigenous magical practices of Lapps, Finns, Tartars, Peruvians and Mexicans, instigated allegedly by the Devil himself.³⁴

These treatises may help us explore how exactly the ecclesiastics-would-be-missionaries interpreted the diabolized images of non-European

³⁰ Acosta, *De natura novi orbis... De procuranda indorum salute*, pp. 468–74.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 479–80.

³² Jean Bodin, *De magorum daemonomania. Vom Außgelaßnen Wütigen Teuffelsheer Allerhand Zaubern, Hexen und Hexenmeister, Anholden, Teuffelsbeschwern, Warsagern, Schwarzkünstlern, Vergiftern, Augenverblenderne etc.* (Straßburg: B. Jobin, 1586). An Italian edition (Venetia, 1592) is mentioned in *Elenchus Generalis Librorum... Pro Bibliotheca Re.g.iae Universitatis Budensis... selecti sunt*, 1782, p. 61. Martín del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex. In Tres Tomos Partiti* (Moguntiae: Joannes Albinus, 1603), see *Catalogus Librorum Academiae Regiae Tyrnaviensis*, 1778, p. 288; further editions (Moguntiae, 1612) are mentioned in *Catalogus novus Librorum Collegii Tirnaviensis*, 1690-, Vol. I, p. 307.

³³ Bodin, *De magorum daemonomania* (1586), SI (Von der Abgötterey in Newen Inseln), S2 (Indianer betten die Sonn an und jhren Son).

³⁴ Del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, esp. pp. 109–15 (Lib. II. Quaestio IX. *Quâm admirandos effectus veteres Magis tribuerint?*) and pp. 119–25 (Quaestio XI. *Quae magorum potestas in orbes coelestes, sidera, et elementa?* Questio XIII. *Ad Magi valeant incantare animalia bruta?*).

people and the practice of diabolization they have often come to support and embrace. John of Damascus' ancient, three-part division of idolatry based on the *object* of veneration was well-known in the age. It was widely used in religious polemical treatises, like in *Idololatria hugenotica* written by a French Jesuit, Louis Richeome, published in Mainz in 1613, and owned by the library of the Jesuit college in Nagyszombat.³⁵ There was, however, another equally important and widespread two part division in use which was based on the mode of adoration. According to it, idolatry could be either explicit i.e. exterior/material (*idololatria expressa, exterioris, materialis*) or implicit i.e. interior/spiritual (*idololatria implicita/interioris/spiritualis* or *latens*). Such a division was applied by Del Rio, (more or less) by Bodin, and also by Father Richeome.³⁶

According to this logic, the visible, material appearance of the devil in the demon show clearly belongs to the explicit, exterior mode of idolatry (*idololatria expressa*), but the non-diabolical images of non-European forms of religion can also be regarded as representations of satanic idolatry, depicting its tacit, latent or interior, spiritual mode (*idololatria implicita*). It is legitim, thus, to suppose that in the missionaries' readings, the devil was present even in those images, where he could not be seen at all. For those learnt in the theology of idolatry—whose basic definition, i.e. the adoration of false gods, did not change in the period concerned—the devil should not be visible in order to be identified in a picture (or, for that matter, in the empirical world). For such a way of reading, he was thought to be implied in *any* of those scenes.³⁷

According to Father Richeome and others, a particular form of tacit or implicit idolatry was witchcraft, i.e. the art of *magi, venefici, incantatores, pythones, necromantici* etc., who, allegedly, have made an alliance with the *cacodaemon*. Father Del Rio claimed that “*Tacita idololatria est omnis magia prohibita*” (All kinds of prohibited magic make tacit idolatry).³⁸

³⁵ Louis Richeome, *Idololatria hugenotica, seu Luthero Calvinistica ad exemplar ethnicae veteris expressa et octo libris comprehensa* (Moguntiae: Petrus Henningius, 1613), pp. 18–9. *Catalogus novus Librorum Collegii Tirnaviensis*, 1690-, Vol. II, p. 335.

³⁶ Del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, pp. 3–6. Bodin, *De magorum daemonomania* (1586), 25–6. Richeome, *Idololatria hugenotica*, pp. 17–28 (Caput V. *De sensibili et exteriori Idololatria*; Caput VI. *De spirituali ac interiori Idololatria*).

³⁷ I do not have space here to discuss other possible ways of reading—secular, indigenous and their many possible variations, etc.—in which the *lack* of such a sophisticated theological knowledge could lead to quite different interpretations.

³⁸ Richeome, *Idololatria hugenotica*, p. 22. Del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, p. 3.

This identification points toward another feature of the missionaries' possible ways of reading. A number of the engravings included for example in De Bry's American series of travelogues depict ecstatic-orgiastic native rituals, the brewing of narcotic drinks by women, ritual gatherings (drinking and dancing) of men and women, as well as various scenes of cannibalism and/or human sacrifice. Especially Hans Staden's and Jean de Léry's description of the Brazilian natives are full of such images.³⁹ The American Indians enact in these pictures the third form of diabolization I mentioned above: they appear as evil creatures, nearly demons themselves. Through the lens of the theology of idolatry, the witches' sabbat could emerge as a significant interpretive-category of such images.

This possibility is supported by the argumentation of Del Rio who claims (along with several other Catholic theologians) that an explicit pact (*pactum expressum*) is made with the devil in solemn, ceremonial circumstances. In such rituals the *cacodaemons* gain a visible form, they are sworn faith and loyalty in front of witnesses—just like it was described in *Malleus maleficarum*, the notorious late fifteenth century treatise on witchcraft and witch-hunting. In the eyes of early modern Catholic theologians, this was not simply an act of idolatry, but meant an explicit *demonolatry*.⁴⁰ Accordingly, in a learned theological reading, the images of the demon show in which the demons were depicted in the centre of an indigenous ceremony apparently held in their honour could refer directly to the horrible ritual of the witches' pact allegedly contracted with the devil.⁴¹ Hundreds (maybe even thousands?) of witchcraft trials conducted

³⁹ For example Staden, *Americae tertia pars*, p. 112, pp. 127–28, p. 174, p. 179. For the practice of human sacrifice among the Nahuatl see De Solis, *Historia de la conquista de Mexico*, p. 264 passim, and the engravings entitled “El Grande Templo,” fol. 263 and “El Idolo Vitzliputzli,” fol. 266; for that among the Peruvian natives see Bodin, *De magorum daemonomania* (1586), SI and S2, and, arguing explicitly against the diabolizing strategy, De La Vega, *Histoire des Yncas, rois du Perou*, pp. 108–19.

⁴⁰ Del Rio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, pp. 89–97 (Lib. II. Quaestio IV. *De basi Magiae huius; siue de pacto, expresso et implicito*). One of the three forms of the explicit pact “sit solennitate varia, et ipsi cacodaemoni visibiliter in corporea aliqua forma apparenti, coram testibus, fidelitas, et homagium promittitur [Hoc describitur in Malleo malefi. ...]” etc. Ibid., p. 90.

⁴¹ For example Benzoni, *Historiae Antipodum sive Novi Orbis*, p. 63.

against American Indians in the colonial age testify to the existence of this unfortunate association we have come to learn of only recently.⁴²

Finally, let us turn to the *cacodaemon* and the shape of the depicted demons themselves. It is remarkable that they seem to resemble one another rather than any American Indian religious figure or spirit, plenty of whom have not been represented at all. It is striking to see how few iconographical elements were used by De Bry and the other engravers to create “non-European” demons. Partly human, partly animal creatures were imagined mostly with multiple heads/faces, reminding the early modern Christian reader, missionary or not, of the world of monsters.

The lore of demons drew a lot indeed on the parallel medieval as well as early modern lore of monsters and the belief that creatures combining human parts of the body with various animal features could exist.⁴³ Monsterology thus constitutes another close context of the diabolized representation of American Indians. The Jesuits of Upper Hungary possessed a considerable amount of works relating to this field, too. Monster lore usually appeared either in books of *historia naturalis* or of more specific rarities and curiosities (*raritas*, *curiositas*) collected and presented as wonders (*mirabilia*) during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This particular micro-context is important since it left its impact on the interpretation of wondrous creatures.

The lore of monsters seems to have been present in the demon show and the diabolical representation of non-European people in three distinctive ways. The first, concrete way is suggested by certain texts of the series edited by the De Brys, relating to the journeys of various European travellers to the East Indies, published in Frankfurt am Main between 1597 and 1601. In chapter XLIII of Joan Hugo von Lindschotten’s travelogue (1598), entitled *Von den Pagoden oder Indianischen Abgötten* (*Of the pagodes or Indian idols*) an enormous

⁴² The exact number is not known. For New Spain, i.e. colonial Mexico see Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, pp. 146–83 and Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*. For the northern frontier of New Spain see Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 152–69 and pp. 281–331, Sz. Kristóf, “A démonológia funkciói,” and idem, “The Uses of Demonology.” For colonial Peru see Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, pp. 161–86. And for a general survey of the early modern “Satanic epic,” the cultural language of demonology and its consequences in the two sides of the Atlantic, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*.

⁴³ See the various thoughtful studies on such a relationship in Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (ed.), *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003). On marvels, monsters and early modern science see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001 [1998]).

Indian god figure is depicted in quite similar terms as the great American “idols” mentioned before, and identified as the *Beast of the Apocalypse*.⁴⁴ Chapter XXX of the same work, entitled *Von der Religion der Chineser und jhrer Haußhaltung* (About Chinese Religion) describes similarly a Chinese god.⁴⁵ Although the Beast in the *Book of Revelation* was either a dragon or a sea-giant, it had, likewise, multiple (seven) heads, multiple horns (altogether ten),⁴⁶ and merged animalistic features (panther, bear and lion).⁴⁷ Perhaps it is only the motif of the crown (diadem) present in John’s visions that occurred rather rarely in the depictions of American Indian/non-European “idols.” Nevertheless, the early modern reader of these pictures could adopt a specific biblical-apocalyptic interpretation: he could envision the appearance of Satan/Antichrist in distant, non-European, “exotic” places.

The second way of how monster lore was implied in the strategy of diabolization is a more general and elusive one. As the figure of the multi-headed/multi-faced *cacodaemon* suggests, certain features could have been borrowed from “monsterology” throughout creating the patch-work-figure of the devil and his fellow demons. Some works the Jesuits of Upper Hungary possessed in this field—like Ulisse Aldrovandi’s *Monstrorum historia* (1642), his *Serpentum et draconum historiae libri duo* (1640), or the German Jesuit Gaspar Schott’s *Physica curiosa* (1667)⁴⁸—prove that it

⁴⁴ “es hatte die Figur viel Hörner und lange Zän, welche auß dem Mund uber den Rien herunder giengen, auch unter den Nabel, an dem Bauch war der gleichen ein Angesicht mit vielen Hörnern und Därmen, hatte einen Hut auff dem Kopff, welcher nicht fast ungleich war einem dreygekrönten Bapst Hut, in summa es schine gleich ob es were ein Thier oder Monstrum auß Apocalypsi.” Lindschotten, *Ander Theil der Orientalischen Indien*, pp. 132–3.

⁴⁵ “hat 3. Kronen ubern Haupt, und ein erschrecklich Antliß, klawuen an statt Händen unnd Füßen, und ein greußlich Angesicht auff dem Bauch...” Ibid., p. 146.

⁴⁶ *Apocalypsis Iohannis*, 12, 3–4: “et visum est aliud signum in caelo, et ecce draco magnus rufus habens capita septem et cornua decem, et in capitibus suis septem diademata, et cauda eius trahebat tertiam partem stellarum caeli, et misit eas in terram.” *Biblia Sacra. Iuxta Vulgatam versionem*. Editio tertia emendata. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983 [1969], 1893).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 13, 1–2: “et vidi de mare bestiam ascendentem habentem capita septem et cornua decem, et super cornua eius decem diademata, et super capita eius nomina blasphemiae, et bestiam quam vidi similis erat pardo, et pedes eius sicut ursi, et os eius sicut os leonis, et dedit illi draco virtutem suam et potestatem magnam.” *Biblia Sacra*, 1894.

⁴⁸ Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia. Cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium*. (Bononiae: Nicolaus Tebaldini, 1642). *Idem, Serpentum et draconum*

was the combination and variation of monstrous features that mattered. Schott studied in Italy (having Athanasius Kircher as his mentor) and was admittedly inspired by Aldrovandi's images and texts. Both authors' collection of engravings illustrate that monsters and demons were imaginarily brought into being by merging and patching parts of entirely different species (human, quadruped, bird, reptile, or even vegetable), gender positions (male and female), and multiplied or reduced body-parts (head, arm, leg, horn, tail, etc.). Such fusions made indeed those creatures rather similar to one another.

Both collections include monsters that we know very well from the demon show relating to American Indians and other non-European peoples. Schott's *Physica curiosa* shows for example a monster that wears a second head on his stomach, and next to it we find another demon-looking creature having seven heads, eight(?) arms, hairy thighs and heels (goatlegs) (see fig. 8).

The relevant chapters describe several monstrous and demonic bodily forms and combinations. Schott's work includes for example a remarkable chapter "§ III. *De monstis humanis cum capite non humano*" (On human monsters with non-human heads) in which various horned animal-heads appear on the top of human bodies.⁴⁹ And, Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum historia* includes a most diabolic looking creature with an animal head, female breasts, chicken/eagle leg limbs with claws, a "winged and horned monster looking like the *cacodaemon*" itself (see fig. 9).⁵⁰

The early modern demon show seems, thus, to have been based "technically" on the monster show, various scholarly "systems," and "histories" of monsters. Possessing and studying such works up until the eighteenth century, like it was the case in the Jesuit colleges of Upper Hungary, could have contributed to the preservation of a reading practice that still identified the monstrous provenance of (American, or any) demons.

historiae libri duo (Bononiae: Clemens Ferronius, 1640). As the marks of ownership on their frontispieces testify, before being inscribed in the catalogue of the library of the Jesuit academy of Nagyszombat in 1665, both works were in the possession of a pharmacy dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the same place. See also *Catalogus novus Librorum Collegii Tirnaviensis*, 1690-, Vol. I, p. 56. Gaspar Schott, *Physica curiosa sive Mirabilia naturae et artis Libris XII comprehensa* (Herbipoli: Jacobus Hertz, 1667). According to the mark of ownership on its frontispiece, it was inscribed in the catalogue of the library of the Jesuit academy in Nagyszombat in 1689. See also *Catalogus novus Librorum Collegii Tirnaviensis*, 1690-, Vol. II, p. 393.

⁴⁹ Schott, *Physica curiosa*, pp. 578–82 (§ II. *Monstrum humanum biceps, capite uno in ventre posito*; § III. *Monstra humana trium et septem capitum*).

⁵⁰ Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia*, p. 364.

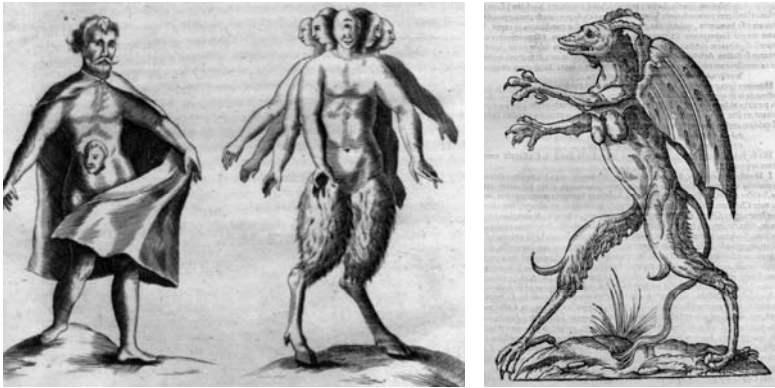


Fig. 8: Fig. I. Monstrum biceps, cum altero capite in ventre. Fig. II. Monstrum septiceps. Gaspar Schott, *Physica curiosa sive Mirabilia naturae et artis Libris XII comprehensa* (Herbipoli: Jacobus Hertz, 1667), p. 579, ELTE EK KRNYO (Bar.04182). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

Fig. 9: “Monstrum alatum & cornutum instar Cacodaemonis,” Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia. Cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium* (Bononiae: Nicolaus Tebaldini, 1642), p. 364, ELTE EK KRNYO (Bar.05561). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

This interpretive approach characterized especially learned readers, familiar with both worlds, like ecclesiastics, missionaries, natural historians, or physicians.

The third way of the surfacing of the monster-lore in the representation of non-European peoples was implied in their *show* itself. The works of Aldrovandi, Schott, Happel, in the possession of the Jesuit libraries of Upper Hungary, including relatively detailed information about indigenous peoples, constituted a sort of wondrous natural history, or an encyclopedic show of wonders (*mirabilia*) and curiosities of the world. As the title of another work of Happel put it, they were *Relationes Curiosae*.⁵¹ This understanding provided a context of exoticization, and by means of it, othering for the particular entries—monsters, humans, animals, plants—

⁵¹ Happel, *Grössester Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so genandt Relationes Curiosae*. Vols 2–4 (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1685–1689). This work came in the possession of the royal university of Buda from the college of the order of St Paul the First Hermit in Lepoglava (today’s Croatia).

included, just like its contemporary three-dimensional counterpart, the museum or the cabinet of curiosities did for the exhibited objects.⁵²

These works had a peculiar arrangement or content-structure. Organizing knowledge before the great hierarchized scientific systems of the eighteenth century (like those of Linne or Blumenbach), they drew mostly on an imaginary chart of opposing poles and corresponding elements, like the North and the South / the Lappon and the Hottentot; the East and the West / India, China and Mexico, Peru; cold vs. hot climate / dwarfs vs. giants. The emphasis was placed rather on the order and the aesthetics of the composition, and the variety/variability of the compiled elements, and not so much on the relation with the empirical world. Such printed collections of *mirabilia* and *curiositates* could impress the European reader of the late seventeenth- early eighteenth century in much the same way as a remarkable, harmoniously ornamented building, or a decently decorated and furnished cupboard, or a room of rarities. Happel's work even included a picture and a description of a "*wunderbahre Kunstkammer*" (wonderful cabinet of curiosities) from Dresden, Germany. Like the Renaissance buildings engraved in the works of De Bry, the "cabinet of wonders" did not only constitute the structural frame of the show, but were, at the same time, a part of it.⁵³

It is in such a context that demons, monsters, and humans—non-Europeans among them—appear, distinguished, but not necessarily divided and separated from one another as a category, or species. While the Jesuit Schott discusses humans in a separate chapter of his *Physica curiosa*, apart from demons and monsters,⁵⁴ Aldrovandi merges all three in his *Monstrorum historia*. In a subchapter entitled "*Hominum differentiae*" of the latter work various representatives of American indigenous people—"Regina insulae Floridae," (Queen of Florida island), "Rex apud cannibals" (King of the cannibals), "Rex Quoniambec" (head of the Brazilian Tupinambá Indians the French explorer, André Thevet met in the 1550s) (see fig. 10 and 11)—are placed next to Buddha, "Homo Sylvestris"

⁵² Findlen, *Possessing Nature*. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. On wonders constituting another aspect of the cultural language of the early modern period in Europe for appropriating the newly explored America, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁵³ Happel, *Grössester Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt*, Vol 3 (1687), engraving entitled "Die Kunst-Kammer" facing p. 117.

⁵⁴ Schott, *Physica curiosa*, pp. 352–502 (*Liber tertius De mirabilibus hominum*).



Fig. 10: “Regina Insulae Floridae,” Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia. Cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium* (Bononiae: Nicolaus Tebaldini, 1642), p. 106. ELTE EK KRNYO (Bar.05561). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

Fig. 11: “Icon Regis Quoniambec” and “Rex apud Cannibalesm,” Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia. Cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium* (Bononiae: Nicolaus Tebaldini, 1642), pp. 108–9, ELTE EK KRNYO (Bar.05561). Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

(Man of the woods), horned, hairy satyrs and various anthropomorphic monsters, and are followed by demons.⁵⁵

Father Schott reproduced a considerable number of Aldrovandi's images and texts, but relying on the Jesuits' learned and probably more critical scholarly approach,⁵⁶ he carefully separated those categories from

⁵⁵ Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia*, pp. 4–36, pp. 74–110. Aldrovandi also included in that chapter an image of a three-headed Lapp demon, an alleged object of idolatry, sitting on a throne, who embodies yet another manifestation of the demon show.

⁵⁶ According to Edward Spicer, an excellent historian of the American Southwest, there was a remarkable difference between the activity of the Franciscan and the Jesuit missionaries of New Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there. The Franciscans wrote rather few, but were active in criminalizing—and demonizing—the ancient religion of the American Indians. They led plenty of expeditions to confiscate ritual objects, masks, costumes from them in order to burn them, and they conducted criminal proceedings against them with the charges of witchcraft and idolatry. The Jesuits, however, seem to have been less violent. Their method of Christianization was more intellectual, and they wrote a lot. They have written most of the accounts on the encounter between the Europeans and the

one another. Happel's *Relationes Curiosae* merged again the *mirabilia* of humans, monsters, and demons on two elaborate images of the demon show allegedly depicting the religious practice of indigenous peoples in India and Mexico (fig. 12).⁵⁷



Fig. 12: “Der Mexikanische Heiden-Breuel” (The Mexican heathen idol), Eberhard Werner Happel, *Grössester Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so genandt Relationes Curiosae*, IV (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1689), facing page 715. ELTE EK KRNYO (P251) Courtesy of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

The works I have studied so far perhaps provide insufficient material to draw ultimate conclusions about the likely proper ways of reading of such *mirabilia*. Still, we can safely claim that at least two different approaches are circumscribed by the above discussed texts. One is a *critical/analytical* (more scholastic/Aristotelian?) reading, according to which human beings form a distinct, unique category of living species without any access or passageway towards demons and monsters. This might possibly be an interpretation learned groups of readers, including scholars and to some extent, missionaries themselves adopted. An equally possible way of

natives in early modern New Mexico. See Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 32–3, p. 52, p. 591 and Sz. Kristóf, “A démonológia funkciói,” idem, “The Uses of Demonology.”

⁵⁷ Happel, *Grössester Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt*, vol. IV (1689), engravings entitled “Der Calecutische Götzen Dienst” facing p. 669, and “Der Mexikanische Heiden-Breuel” facing p. 715.

reading might hold, however, that these species are not entirely, not necessarily divided, that they may merge with one another, and create horrible forms, like the creatures in demon shows explicitly and didactically displayed. This might be a reading informed by less rigorous, perhaps less/differently educated, *more synthetic* (more Platonian?) attitudes. The material studied in this paper suggests that the Jesuits and their missionaries could have shared both ways of reading, but in the long run, it was undoubtedly the first one that prevailed among them.⁵⁸

I also have to add here that the aestheticizing context the early modern discourse on *mirabilia* produced and conveyed could make the European reader socially-politically indifferent towards the depicted indigenous peoples. As Aldrovandi cried out: “Mirandum est quemadmodum Gentes barbare tam varijs inuentis sint referti”⁵⁹—implying that we, Europeans admire the “various inventions” of those “barbarous peoples” since in effect we do not hold them capable of creating such things...

In conclusion let me point to the fact that the oldest diabolized representations of the American natives and other non-European peoples that reached the Jesuit libraries of Upper Hungary did not always come from Jesuit sources. Although Del Rio’s work did so, the travelogues published by De Bry were not religious works, and authors like Léry or Happel were not even Catholic. It seems that from the beginnings it was a remarkable mix of representations that our Jesuits could use, reflect upon, and relate to their own experiences gathered later in the mission field. As the cited world geographies of Father Bertalanffy or Father Szuhányi suggest, diabolical representations survived in eighteenth century Hungary, but have not become overwhelming or predominant. It is significant that Father László Nedeczky’s *Geographica globi terraquei*, the most known, most used geography throughout the eighteenth century in Jesuit circles in Hungary (first published in Nagyszombat in 1732), did not include any explicit demonizing passages or images in connection with the American native peoples.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ It is an exciting question how much this development has to do with the “inner rationalizing impulse” of Latin Christianity and also Jesuit culture itself, analyzed so brilliantly in Rubiés, “Travellers and Cosmographers,” pp. 237–63. As for the Jesuits of East-Central Europe, one seems to encounter similar tendencies, but much research is still required in this field there (e.g. in the old Kingdom of Hungary).

⁵⁹ Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia*, p. 105.

⁶⁰ László Nedeczky, *Geographica globi terraquei synopsis* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1755). Copies of different editions of this work were in the possession of several Jesuit libraries, like that of Nagyszombat (an edition of Cassoviae, 1728

Such heterogeneity of representations may be due to the fact that, as I discussed above, the works that arrived to the country from Western Europe were themselves diverse in that respect. There is, however, another possibility to be taken into consideration. Some of our eighteenth century geography books written by non-Jesuit authors contain even darker, even more diabolical representations of the American Indians than those produced by the Jesuits. It seems as if the Jesuit fathers were indeed more critical towards the whole tendency of early modern diabolization, as if they, travelling and living continuously in Central and especially South America, had experienced that the “Indian demons” existed rather in the pictures of the European books and not so much in the field of the mission. As if they had understood in the long run that the demon show was just a dark version of the freak shows dividing human beings from human beings, othering the one and praising the other, but Indians did not have in effect much to do with the world of Satan, and belonged to the empirical, social and political world of America.⁶¹

Nevertheless, diabolization was still a characteristic and rather shameful path of the European history of appropriating American Indian (non-European) cultural otherness. Its study constitutes a challenge for us, present day European historians attempting to understand our own ways of thinking, and coming not only from the West but also from the East-Central regions of the Old Continent.

and Utini, 1732, see *Catalogus novus Librorum Collegii Tirnaviensis, 1690-, Vol. I*, p. 485, p. 504), Lőcse (Levoča, today's Slovakia) (an edition of Tyrnaviae, 1745, see *Elenchus Librorum abolitae Soc. Collegii Leutschoviensis*, p. 28), Eperjes (Prešov, today's Slovakia) (an edition without the indication of date and place, see *Catalogus Librorum Venerabilis Residentiae Eperiesiensis abolitae*, 1778, p. 25), and Buda (an edition of Cassoviae, 1732 and Tyrnaviae, 1735, see *Catalogus Bibliothecae Collegii abolitae Societatis Budensis*, [turn of 1770s/1780s], p. 57, p. 70).

⁶¹ See, among others, Xavér Ferenc Éder, *Descriptio provinciae moxitarum in regno Peruano*. (Budae, 1791). For local historical-ethnographical studies concerning Hungarian/Central European missionaries to America see Sz. Kristóf, “A demonológia funkciói” and idem, “The Uses of Demonology.” A considerable amount of the relating archival files has not yet been explored in Hungary. A survey of mine including new findings is going to be published soon.

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